The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 13. No. 1 Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. January, 1955

Soliloquy on Brotherhood

Lines for Brotherhood Week, February 20-27, written with the legal ordeal of Carl Braden in Louisville, Ky., in fresh and terrifying memory.

If we know we're brothers, then no
Fear need bind us. Knowing
Is a power, piercing frozen
Wastes with seeds of growing.

But fifteen years in jail because
A man helped a man incite
A home his money couldn't buy
Because the house was white?

Are we less all brothers, if one
Deed finds horror? Doing
Bears a bold writ, blood will baffle
Legal misconstruing.

But shame and cost to self and kin
Have bowed this man with care;
Endurance seems the bitter fruit
That fertile love must bear.

If we know we're brothers, then no
Burden is a bare one. Sharing
Springs the cell door, swelling lonely
Pain to paean of joyous daring.

—Alfred Maund

Housing Bias Foe Gets 15 Years

Carl Braden, white Louisville newspaperman who helped a Negro couple purchase a home, was sentenced last month to 15 years in jail and fined $5,000 on charges of sedition.

Previous issues of the Patriot have reported how, because the home was in an all-white subdivision, a reign of terror was instituted which culminated in the dynamiting of the house and the arest of Mr. and Mrs. Braden and four others. They were charged with bombing the house themselves "to promote the cause of Communism," and with "sedition" under a Kentucky statute passed in 1920 and never before invoked.

At Braden's trial on the latter count, books and letters seized from his home formed the bulk of the evidence. Nine professional informers, none of whom knew Braden, were brought in from vari-

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SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE ON INTEGRATION PLANNED—A committee from 12 Southern states met recently in Atlanta, Ga., to plan for a Southwide Conference on Compliance with the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation in Public Schools.

Present were: (l. to r., 1st row): MRS. LULU B. WHITE, (Secretary), Dir. of Branches for Texas NAACP, Houston, Texas; THE RT. REV. S. L. GREENE, (Chairman), Pres., Council of Bishops, AME Church, Atlanta; REV. W. T. CRUTCHER, Knoxville, Tenn. 2nd row: DR. HOWARD PARSONS, Asst. Prof. of Phil. & Psych., Univ. of Tenn.; MARQUIS LA FAYETTE HARRIS, Pres., Philander Smith College, Ark.; DR. JOHN R. BROSS, Prof., Psych. & Phil., REV. OLIVER W. HOLMES, Pastor, 1st Cong'l. Church; DR. DONALD RASMUSSEN, Prof. of Soc., Talladega College, Ala.

3rd row: W. W. LAW, Pres., NAACP, Savannah, Ga.; ROBERT E. MORAN, Dir. Student Teaching, Allen Univ., Columbia, S. C.; DR. JAMES L. HUPP, Prof. of Educ., W.Va. Wesleyan College; MRS. W. B. HEMBREE, Pres., United Church Women of Knoxville; REV. JAMES L. WELDEN, Pastor, Oak Grove Meth. Church, Decatur, Ga.

4th row: MRS. J. J. HANNIBAL, State Historian & Local Pres. Women's Aux. Old North State Med. Soc., Kinston, N. C.; C. L. HARPER, Exec. Sec., Ga. Teachers & Educ. Assn., Atlanta, Ga.; JOHN WESLEY DOBBS, Grand Master Prince Hall Masons of Ga.; DONALD STEPHENS, Dir. Ardencraft, Arden, Dela.; MRS. INGEBORG STEPHENS, Arden, Dela.

5th row: REV. E. J. ODOM, JR., Dean, Turner Theol. Seminary, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.; DR. FORREST E. LA VIOLETTE, Prof. of Soc., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.; REV. JOHN H. KNIBB, JR., Pastor of Rocky Mt. Christian Church, Va.; A. N. WHITING, Dean, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.; DR. RICHARD HOCKING, Prof. of Phil., Emory University, Ga.; MRS. HARRY M. GERSHON, Atlanta.

6th row: JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, Exec. Dir., SCEF, New Orleans; O. B. TAYLOR, M.D., Knoxville; THE REV. ALLAN FORD, Atlanta; DR. WM. A. CALDER, Prof. of Physics & Astronomy, Agnes Scott College, Ga.; DR. LINCOLN BARKER, Prof. of Psych. & Rel., Maryville College, Tenn.; MRS. ANDREW W. SIMPKINS, State Sec. NAACP, Columbia, S. C.

Present, but not in photo: DR. ALBERT E. BARNETT, Prof., Candler Sch. of Theol., Emory University, Ga.; MRS. ALBERT E. BARNETT; Harry T. PENN, D.D.S., Roanoke, Va.; REV. M. L. KING, SR., Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta; REV. WM. S MERCER, Pastor, Radcliffe Memorial Presbyterian Church Atlanta; G. MURRAY BRANCH, Asst. Prof. of Rel., Morehouse College, Atlanta; Rabbi JACOB M. ROTHSCHILD, The Temple, Atlanta, Ga.; HOBART T. TAYLOR, Pres., The Taylor Co., Houston, Texas.

There will be another meeting of the planning group at 10 a.m. Tuesday, January 25th, at Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., Dr. J. M. Ellison, President. If you would like to attend, write the SCEF, 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La.

Miss. Okays End of Schools

TEACHERS ARE OPPOSED, 2-1, POLL SHOWS

Mississippi on December 21 followed the example of Georgia and South Carolina and approved a constitutional amendment empowering the state legislature to abolish the public schools. The measure, designed to preserve racial segregation, provides for state-paid tuition at "private" schools.

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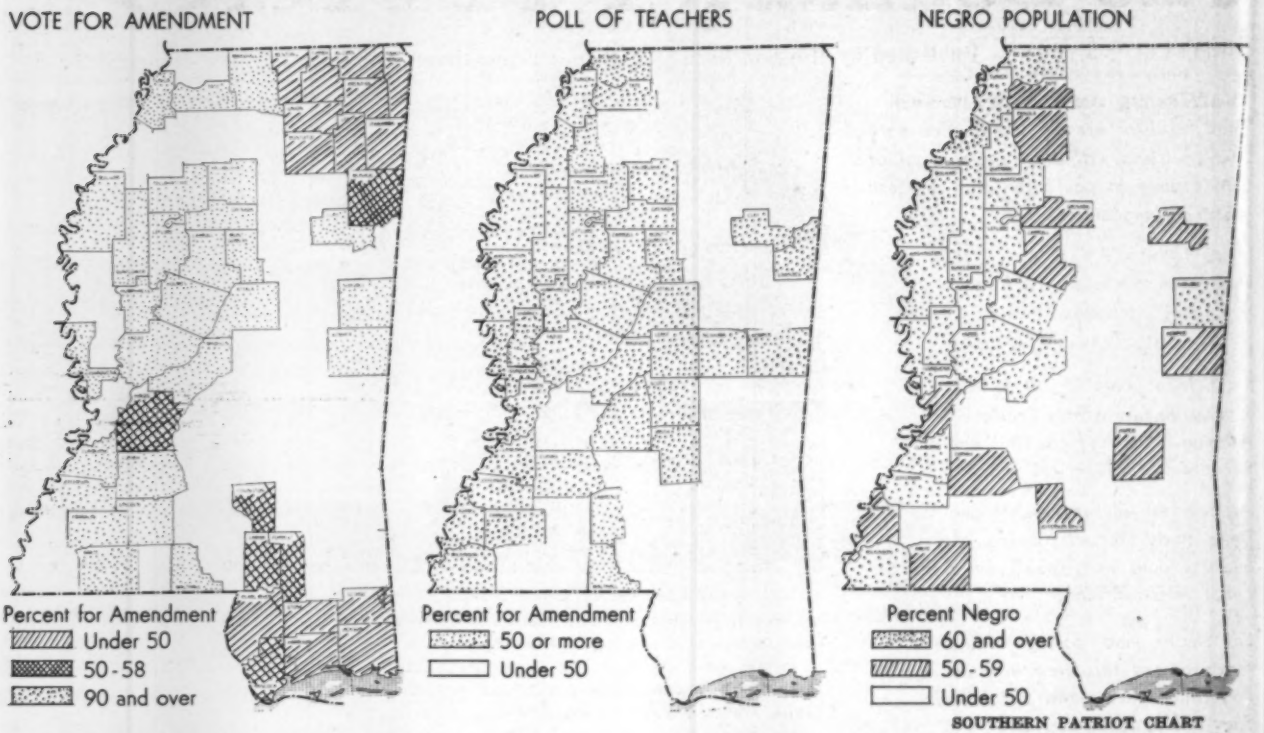
East Mississippi Hostile to "Private" Schools



SOUTHERN PATRIOT CHART

An election in Mississippi, as in any Southern state, may be better understood by studying the concentration of Negro population. The Negro population of Mississippi is concentrated in the rich river counties, the plantation country, and in a handful of fertile eastern counties, an extension of the Alabama Black Belt.

Mississippi politics usually find the river counties, plus the fertile eastern counties, arrayed against the so-called "hill" counties of the east. This traditional division is reflected in the 3 maps shown above: (1) The vote for the "private school" amendment; (2) The vote for the amendment by the white public school teachers in a poll taken just before the election; (3) The concentration of Negro population.

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There were 91,513 votes in favor of it, with 41,572 opposed. Gov. Hugh White had given the proposal his full support, even threatening to cut off school appropriations if it failed of passage.

According to the new law, a two-thirds vote of the legislature can abolish schools on a state-wide basis; a simple majority vote of legislators present can allow a county or local school district to withdraw from the public system. This last provisio aroused much criticism, the contention being that the big planters of the Delta section would invoke it to avoid paying taxes for the state's planned school equalization program.

Whatever the amendment's worth to the white supremacists, there is no question that its passage had a sharply deleterious effect on the morale of Mississippi's teachers. It poises the sword of Damocles over their retirement benefits, their tenure and salary prospects, their working conditions generally.

In a poll of the white teachers of the state conducted by Dr. Charles G. Hamilton of Corinth in association with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, nearly two out of three voiced opposition to the amendment. The 2,886 ballots received represented approximately one-third of the number of teachers in Mississippi.

Question I on the ballot was:

"Regardless of your opinion on segregation, do you favor the proposed constitutional amendment giving the state legislature authority to abolish the public school system?"

YES—893.
NO—1620.

A second question sought to determine the teachers' attitudes toward integration. It read:

"Would you object to teaching in an integrated school system if our state were to comply with the United States Supreme Court ruling making segregation in public schools illegal?"

YES—1808.
NO—627.

This three-to-one expression of opposition is not discouraging, considering that the question is still hypothetical in the state, and the answers do not indicate how hard the teachers would object if practical considerations on the side of integration were placed before them.

Teachers in only 29 of the state's 82 counties registered a majority in favor of permitting abolition of the public schools. All of the major cities, with the exception of one where the vote was tied, opposed abolition; and the counties of east Mississippi, from the Tennessee line to the Gulf of Mexico, turned in the greatest majorities against it.

Among the counties opposing the amendment were the home counties of every former governor but one, from Bilbo's first term to the present. A similar situation prevailed with major officials in the present state administration, and with the candidates for governor in the 1955 election.

Space was left on the ballots for com-

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"Better An Integrated System Than No System"

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ment by the teachers. We are printing a selection of the remarks for the insight they give to the thinking of a very important group who is usually neglected in the bland political pronouncements on the school question.

COMMENTS BY THOSE FAVORING THE ABOLITION AMENDMENT ("Yes" to Question I)

I can't see that abolishing the public schools is the solution, but I have no better to offer.

* * *

Yes, in order that the leaders and teachers might not be forced into an impossible situation.

* * *

If we have mixed groups we need two teachers per room, one to keep order, one to teach, and a midwife to get the babies.

* * *

If that is the only way to maintain segregation.

* * *

It is only giving the legislature the authority to protect our integrity in the event that such measures are needed.

* * *

I feel the Negro will not push for admittance if he thinks he might not get any education. I don't feel it will ever have to be put into force.

* * *

I had rather have no school system whatever than an integrated system.

* * *

COMMENTS BY THOSE OPPOSING THE ABOLITION AMENDMENT ("No" to Question I)

I think to abolish the public schools of Miss. would put our educational system back at least 100 years.

* * *

Give the Negro equal facilities in every way and they will be happy and the whites not hurt . . . I'd say "yes" as the last resort, for it is not best for either races to be together.

* * *

Too much authority. Too dictatorial. It would do away with our Retirement System.

* * *

Where would we stand then on Federal Aids?

* * *

I think Mississippi should comply with the United States Supreme Court ruling.

* * *

I think the Negro schools should be as good as ours and I'd be afraid the legislators might not provide for them if the system were abolished.

* * *

Public education is the greatest asset to our democracy. Destroy it and you hit the roots of our government itself.

There would be many children who would not have an opportunity to go to school.

* * *

I consider the amendment very wrong. I love all races and would cherish the opportunity to know our Negro race better. Mississippi is harming all her people by her attitude toward our Negroes.

* * *

In God's sight, the color of skin makes no difference.

* * *

I think the attempt to call schools as planned "private" would not stand up in any court. It is a farce.

* * *

I do not feel that segregation can be maintained in private schools because private corporations cannot maintain it —such as bus lines and trains. Also I feel that it will lead to the education of the few and not of the masses.

I am one who believes in following the laws of our country. If unwise laws are passed, we should strive to have them changed by law, not by a violation of the law.

* * *

Too much power for a quick-acting group . . . Law is law in Miss. the same as anywhere else. We lost the war once. Why fight again!

* * *

Money spent to equalize schools would be a waste. Take that money and have one great school system.

* * *

COMMENTS BY THOSE WHO WOULD OBJECT TO TEACHING IN INTEGRATED SCHOOL ("Yes" to Question II)

I think each race should have its own kind of teacher. That teacher will know best how to get the best from those of her kind.

* * *

I am strongly in favor of continued segregation; and so is every colored person who works on my farm, including six families. Besides political action, we can make use of many forms of economic pressure to preserve our southern way of life.

* * *

I would quit the profession before I would teach Negro pupils. God didn't class me with the Negro race or I would have been black, too.

* * *

COMMENTS BY THOSE WHO WOULD NOT OBJECT TO TEACHING IN AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL ("No" to Question II)

Although I am against integration, I would not object to teaching in such a school system if such a thing happened.

* * *

I had rather teach in an integrated system than no system. Private schools will result in schools with all kinds of systems. In poor sections—no schools.

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JACKSON NEWS HITS NEW LOW

The Jackson Daily News, "Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper," reached new depths of editorial bias in campaigning on behalf of the school-abolition amendment.

In the issue of Dec. 20, the day before the voting, the News carried a front-page story on the amendment, an editorial backing it, a four-column advertisement supporting it, AND the following feature stories:

A legalistic argument by one W. B. Rouse, extending 21 column inches, in which he denounced both immediate and gradual integration of schools.

A letter, 31 column inches long, from the Rev. J. T. Weems of Heidelburg, in which the writer floridly professed that his sympathy for the Negro was not enough to make him "subscribe to the immoral and unethical madness of integration."

A 73-inch report from a Denver C. Motley in Chicago. This writer cited his Mississippi birth then proceeded to describe in lurid detail the horrible cases of racial intermarriage he had seen in the North.

How much this type of journalism contributed to public thinking on the issue can be imagined.

Gets 15 Years

(Continued from Page 1.)

ous parts of the country to portray the revolutionary character of the Communist Party in the U.S. One, Manning Johnson, recently was threatened with perjury proceedings because of his attempt to smear Dr. Ralph Bunche at a loyalty hearing.

Braden denied being a Communist. A woman "confidential informant" of the FBI appeared to say he had told her he was. His attorney is planning an appeal. The trials of Mrs. Braden and the others are set for February.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on the legal fight against what I. F. Stone has called "a frameup raw as mountain whiskey." Mrs. Anne Braden, P.O. Box 1302, Louisville 1, Ky., is financal agent for the defendants. Contributions should be sent to her.